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WILL INQUIRY DIE?

Gas stink permeates Washington

By Lawrence Emery

BRIBE: a price, reward, gift or favor bestowed or promised with a view to pervert the judgment or corrupt the conduct of a person in a position of trust, as an officer or a voter.
—Webster's New International Dictionary.

MOST OF THE U.S. oil and gas industry operates by a simple rule: when you can't get what you want any other way, buy it. Through the years the industry has managed to get most of what it wants, including tax favors which give it more loose cash to throw around than any other segment of free enterprise. The industry is absolutely bipartisan in its disbursement of gifts and rewards; it never asks a politician's politics as long as he votes right.

A TRUMAN VETO: For years the industry has wanted to free gas production from Federal price control at the wellhead. It managed to get such a bill through Congress in 1950, but Harry Truman vetoed it even though his Administration was heavily beholden to oil billionaires for campaign contributions. The matter went to litigation and in 1954, with the state of Wisconsin leading the fight for controls, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Federal regulation.

Last year oil went to work again, managed to squeak a new bill through the House by a six-vote margin. Democrats from oil states, with Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas leading them, headed the fight for enactment.

This year Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, also from Texas, made the gas bill the first order of business. The oil men moved in to make sure of the outcome. During the three weeks of Senate debate, old hands in Washington were speechless at the pressures that were turned on. Rarely before has the U S. Senate been subjected to such a battering. The Washington **Post & Times Herald** gave the story a full page under the

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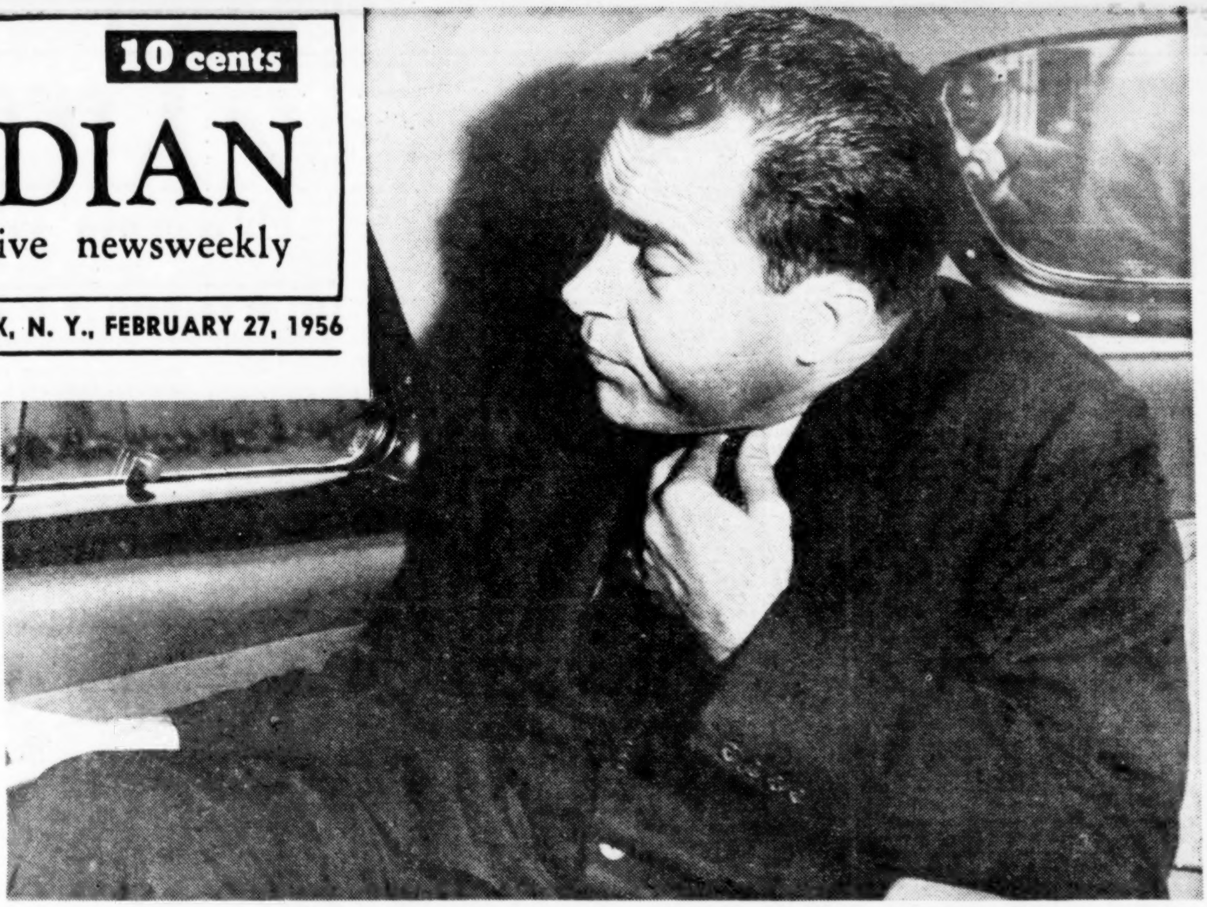


The most cogent reason we know for wishing lke the best of health
Vice President Nixon: Our No. 1 candidate for retirement to private life (see p. 8)

THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

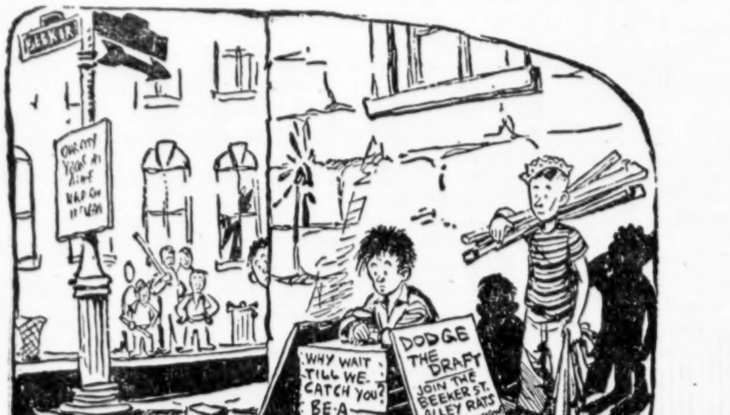
Can we give the rebels a cause?

By Elmer Bendiner

EVERY SPRING, summer and fall at least 200,000 boys and girls are picked up on the road, going nowhere. How many "lost" children travel in box cars or by their thumb, who never reach the jails, no one knows. Of those found, a few are sent home, if the fare isn't too great and if authorities in their home state will accept them (some states refuse). A few more are sent to shelters. Most spend a little time in rural pens with whatever convicted criminals are serving time there, then are taken to the state or county border by the sheriff and turned loose.

Sen. Estes Kefauver's Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, studying juvenile delinquency, was told that boys will take readily to haystacks but girls flag down trucks, then register at truck stop-overs as the truck drivers' wives.

THE PROBLEM IS VAST: Most end up in California or Florida and regularly these states load up trains and ship them back to the general area from which they started. The boys and girls get off and at once resume their endless wandering.



BEEKER ST.
OUR CITY YOURS AT ...
WHY WAIT TILL WE CATCH YOU? BE A VOLUNTEER
DODGE THE DRAFT
JOIN THE BEEKER ST. ALLEY RATS
BETTER WEAPONS MORE LOOT

Bill Mauldin in New York Star, 1948

The road is one place to view youth on the loose. There are other places: jails, insane asylums, shelters, institutions where kids take the narcotics cure, the pick-up bars of the big cities, the cellars where gangs grow.

The problem is vast and varied and so are the solutions. The number of children passing through the criminal courts rose from 300,000 in 1948 to 435,000 in 1953. (About 10% of the increase is accounted for by the population rise.) The Kefauver committee estimated that the actual number of children in trouble (many cases are handled out of court) is close to 1,2500,000 a year. The subcommittee's report traced the rise:

> "Following the end of World War II, the number of juvenile delinquents decreased until, in 1948, there were less than 300,000 appearing annually before the juvenile courts. Then in 1949, with the stresses and strains of the Cold War and the Korean hostilities, juvenile delinquency again began to rise. Since 1948 a steadily increasing number of American boys and girls have become involved in delinquency each year."

THE SOCIAL CLIMATE: Newspapers have screamed for spread-eagling the youngsters, horse-whipping them and shaving their heads. Some have prescribed more cops, some less; some have blamed it all on the parents, others on public schools, comic books, TV, movies, crowded housing, lack of play-space. The generally agreed conclusion is that the social climate in the U.S.—which includes everything from the Cold War to near-pornographic advertising—is unwholesome. Short of changing the climate—which is the overall problem—what can be done?

The front tackled most vigorously to date has been the gangs. Journalists have chronicled their vandalism and wars, written headlines about cities "unsafe" at night. Social workers have studied gangs from varying points of view. The N.Y. City Youth Board is currently testing a "formula" worked out by Harvard Law School criminologists.

Two and a half years ago these scientists studied the background of 256 boys then entering two Bronx public schools. They used their formula to calculate the likelihood of delinquency for each child. Now referring to these records, the Board is keeping tabs on the 256 to see how accurately the scientists can predict.

DISCOUNTED FACTORS: The data on which the formula is based is confined exclusively to the boy's home life and its cohesiveness, how warm the parents are, how strict, how closely supervised the youngster is.

The Harvard criminologists seem to discount all the factors outside the home: the war-frenzied, sex-and-violence diet which the boys are fed, the insecurity, bad housing, and sunless play space. The N.Y. **Daily News** is currently featuring the experiment. Psychiatrists have long leaned to this formula. Last fall Dr. Ralph Brancale, director of the N.J. State Diagnostic Center at Menlo Park, blamed most

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THE MAIL BAG

Peace—or else

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

I have written to Mr. Eisenhower that he would kill all chances of his re-election if he rejected the Soviet Union's offer of friendship. Everyone else should write to the President, letting him know firmly just where the people stand on the issue of peace or war. He can be (and probably will be) pressured into changing his mind. **P. G. O.**

Quatrain

HARTFORD, CONN.

Who does not shrink
From Dulles' brink?
Let's make this gink
The missing link!

Jeff II

Tin-can tale

ALPINE, N.Y.

Our local press is running a series by one William L. Ryan showing how the bad old Russians can't compete with our assistance to undeveloped countries because they have spent only two billion dollars and we have spent 65 billion. He slurs over two things which I'd like to see developed sometime: (1) they can buy agricultural products and we cannot, and (2) they can help a country become a producer of capital goods without a threat to their own economy. Ryan did mention that they did build a steel mill in India. We have given that country the price of lots of mills, but we have not and dare not give them a steel mill lest they sell tin cans to us at less than our own producers can with profit. **George Cook**

Get together

DALLAS, TEX.

Dr. DuBois' article about the new Negro business class was timely. Of course there have always been a few Negroes, as among others, who somehow get ahead. But, of course, the bulk of Negroes are still poor and will have to remain wage workers with little chance of getting up in the world from daily wages. And, as with other workers, their best bet is to get together in unions and make their conditions as workers profitable and secure. A few Negroes now belong to unions and make relatively good money. The big problem is to get enough workers of all races and colors to combine and force wages up.

The NAACP is doing much good work for Negroes and one wishes to join in and help the work along. But the present business and professional leadership is not, with some exceptions, spearheading its attention to the needs of the working class, and for that reason the Negro working class needs to do some outside thinking on its own account. Getting along with this sort of thing is now hampered by the red-baiting and war-mongering hysteria and by the fact that in the South Negroes are hardly recognized as people. However, unless the peoples of the world destroy themselves with A-bombs, there is little doubt that in the long run the future holds better days for the workers. **Dr. W. King**

Chant for Two Mamies

SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.

There are two Mamies in this land —
Now one is met by a big brass band.
She greets the world with a Colgate smile
And a Mr. John's hat of latest style.
But the other one grieves for her boy.
Mamie of the White House is so-so nice,
Never speaks unless spoken to twice,
Nods to her husband, says that he
Decides what's proper, and she'll agree.
But the other one fights for her boy.

G. B.

Regrets

RIDGEWOOD, N. Y.

I was sickened and saddened to read of Dr. Howard's withdrawal from the protest meeting in New York against the Mississippi terror and the reasons given for it. A segment of the white people are prejudiced against Negroes, some to such an extent that they can kill. This to Dr. Howard is an outrage against justice and democracy. On the other hand, he himself displays prejudice toward people holding political views, even if only a tinge different from his own. This certainly is an ailing world. **R. M.**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In this month of February we celebrate the birthdays of two of our greatest patriots. Both possessed great credit character. This priceless possession was reflected in their acts and deeds. The one, a man of means—General Washington — knew the value of sound credit. The trials and sufferings of Valley Forge emphasize how serious the credit problem can become.

The other, a man born in poverty — Abraham Lincoln — worked years to keep his credit good. . . . In his business failures he did not write out his creditors. Instead, he kept them constantly in mind and did not rest until he had paid them in full. He did so with gratitude in his heart and soul.

—Editorial in Credit and Financial Management, February, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: John Roberts, San Francisco. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Merger

DETROIT, MICH.

The Dixiecrat counter-offensive against the Supreme Court decision is determined and sinister and is now beginning to merge with the cold war, McCarthyite-fascist attacks against all civil liberties.

Eino Hiltunen

Dream stuff

PORTLAND, ORE.

On a recent morning, while musing over the political situation, there appeared in my vision a creature resembling a huge grey cat with two heads and a long, shaggy tail. Around the neck of each of these cat-heads was a shiny gold collar, one bearing the inscription of an elephant and the other a jackass. This double-headed monster was crouched, as if getting ready to spring, behind a clump of tall, dead grass on the edge of a large clearing in which a white dove was being fed by a group of children. Grasping the shaggy tail of this huge monster was a group of top labor brass, headed by George Meany, who seemed to be the leader, while they were all struggling to get a firmer hold on the lashing tail. I was so impressed by this strange apparition that I could not resist the temptation to make it known to the readers of the GUARDIAN.

Charles E. Woodward

Sinister plot to win

CIRCLE, MONT.

A very great many people were given the opportunity, by radio, to hear a prize entry for a "How Crazy Can You Get" column. The result of the Olympic games was not going according to the wishful thinking of those who dare not admit anything but superiority for our side. So the fantastic charge was made that the Russian winners, in some mysterious way, had been able to put an unholy training program into effect so their contestants would win for propaganda purposes!

I feel sure the athletes who represented us had nothing to do with this. **Hobart McKean**

A great lady writes

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

Letter to the N.Y. Times inspired by the GUARDIAN's editorial:

"I do not write as a non-partisan. I, too, am the victim of an inventigating committee. . . .

"I was faced with a choice: my immediate personal self-interest, that of continuing a successful career in motion pictures in which I had been many times honored; or serving a larger interest, that of upholding the Constitution of the United States.

"In refusing to answer questions before the Un-American Activities Committee in 1951, I felt I was justified on the ground that no committee has a right to investigate in any area in which it does not have a right to legislate. If democracy has any validity it must be based upon a belief that citizens have the intellectual capacity to weigh and judge with intelligence ideas and doctrines which may confront them, and the right to choose those ideas they wish to accept.

"Any official, elected or appointed, or any judge who seeks to limit this free choice by abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or proscribing beliefs, either political or religious, is guilty of a tyrannical usurpation of that power which belongs rightfully to all citizens. He has destroyed "the keystone of our government," the first amendment to our Constitution.

"In your now-famed editorial condemning the attempted proscriptions of the Eastland Committee, you set forth this position most eloquently. But as President Eisenhower has said on so many occasions, "it is deeds, not words that count." Your condemnation of the Eastland and other committees and their violations of the rights of citizens is nullified when you comply with their ultimate objective: to deprive their victims of a livelihood. . . ." **Anne Revere**

Cucumbers, emu eggs

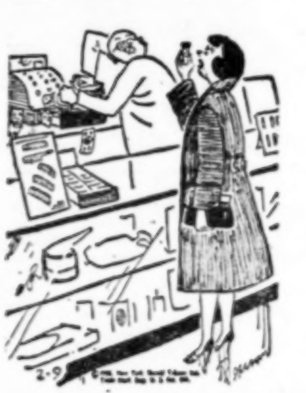
PUEBLO, COLO.

The Alsop brothers have done it again! Another scoop! Their column (reported by the **AP**) informs me that in upwards of five years from now a "Big Brother" earth satellite will televise scenes of goings-on behind the "Iron Curtain": scenes of feverish war preparation, air base construction, smoke-belching armament factories, slaves with their shackles plainly visible, etc.

I am reminded of another "scoop" last year during a hurried trip through part of the Soviet Union by one of the brothers (simultaneously with the Soviet farmers' visit to the U.S.). Skipping over trifling comparisons such as social security, trade unions and medical programs, he astounded me with a forthright revelation of the exorbitant price (under unspecified conditions) of cucumbers in the Soviet Union!

Oh, Happy Days—freedom of the press survives. **Paul Stewart**

P.S.: What's wrong with Belfrage? I have been in a dither for some time to learn the Moscow price of emu eggs laid during a full moon on Feb. 29, frozen mammoth meat in Albania, etc.



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I hope this new federal research program finds some inexpensive disease!"

Don West's ousting

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Today I received my February issue of The Southerner. I opened it with eagerness, for I have been inspired by the voices of Southerners who dared to speak of brotherhood among all races and for peace in the face of warmongers. I stopped in the post office corridor, took off the wrapper, and stood there in shock: my new friend, so recently arisen in my beloved Southland with the light and leadership of the brotherhood we so long have needed and without which we so long have bled, my new friend is dead.

Oh, surely, the slogans are still there, but deeds have made them mockery. A few traces of fire, the flame of love, the genuine brotherly heart in the face of terror. But the eyes are without a smile, though the mouth is turned up at the corners.

Don West refused to sell his soul to fear, and the Church again has bargained with Judas and has sold its principles for physical security. **W. A. McGirt**

Men wanted

WASHINGTON, D.C.

I was shocked to read of the death of Jerry O'Connell in the GUARDIAN. At one time in New Deal days there were fine men in the advance guard of Congress—the Farmer-Laborites, John T. Bernard, O'Connell and Marcantonio. None have taken their places.

Jim Perkins

James Connolly's life

LONDON, ENGLAND

I am preparing what I hope to make the definitive biography of James Connolly, the Irish Rebel who was executed by the British military for his part in the rising in Dublin in 1916. From reading the files of some American newspapers of the years 1902-10 I am aware that he conducted a number of lecture tours under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party (1902), I. W. W. (1906?), Irish Socialist Federation (1907?) and Socialist Party of America (1907-10), but the details of these tours remain to be filled in.

May I appeal to your older readers who may have been members of any of these organizations between 1902 and 1910, to send me any reminiscences which they may have, however seemingly trivial they may be?

I have also been informed that James Connolly had relatives in Colorado, and would be extremely grateful to any of them to get in touch with me. I am finally interested in any evidence of influence by Connolly on the American labor movemet.

C. Desmond Greaves, Editor,
The Irish Democrat,
53 Roseman St.,
London, E.C. 1

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FOR HIS BIRTHDAY

W. E. B. DuBois

(BORN FEBRUARY 23, 1868)

In that marble forum where
The columns cold, lilywhite, deadwhite
Prop up Eastland as if erect, as if elected:

No room for a man of courage, a man of color.

In that hollow hall where
Their all-helling bombs fail,
Where they boast bad manners, spitting at history
And the pale spittle drools back upon itself:

No place for a mannerly man, a host of history.

In that maggoty dust where
They crawl on hands and knees
Scratching for yesterday, for their loot that is mouldered forever:

No stance for an upright man, for a man of shining presence.

Who should be crowned with the purple and gold of his years,
Who should wear robes of state
And easeful pension from a grateful nation,
The government calls on him:
As an ambassador of peace
Your passport please.

In the roll of current fame
Loud, shameful, cries out the absence of his name.

Against the cheap currency of panderer's fame,
In silver, in the book of life, his glowing name.

The young he championed now grown
Some follow as worthy sons,
Others fall in stumbling fear;
The father steadfast walks
To the length and breadth of all his honorable days.
His hand, his heart hold firm;
His lively wit, his grace of wrath endure.
His eyesight keen in memory and vision,
Bearing the best of our past
And companioning the future
In the midst of life he strides:
The span of a man and his legend,
The bittersweet score of his span:

Many wars and a mighty peace

Many winds and the wind blowing free

In his time

In our time

The hobbled feet unbound
The shadowing veil lifted
The stooped head shaking off the knot
The earth richly hued
Richer to increase
Increase and link
With working hands of every color
Enjoined, enjoying
Deed and dance and deed.

Negro, he claimed as title, raising the word to its proper high-born level,
American, he proclaimed, in battle for peace, on guard from dusk to dawn;
Scholar, restoring books to the library of life,
Patriot, sage, redeeming our country's glory:
Leaf the proud pages of his unaging story.

—Eve Merriam

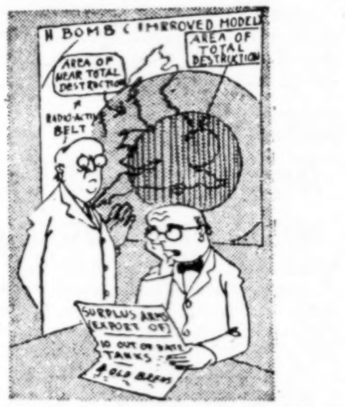
WAR & PEACE

Confidence marks CP parley in Russia; Stalin era viewed critically for the first time

By Tabitha Petran

THE CONFIDENT TONE of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last week, following a period of relatively successful Soviet diplomacy, underscored the fact that Russia has the initiative in world affairs. Some "thoughtful men" in the State Dept. and Congress, according to the N.Y. **Times** (2/19), have come to recognize this and "are convinced that the basic policies, laid down in 1948 and 1949 by the Truman Administration, must be re-examined and perhaps replaced."

Washington, however, remains trapped by its own inflexibility. This condition is reinforced by election-year reluctance to take stock and fear of opening the door to a real peace movement in this country. Moreover, coherent direction of U. S. policy has clearly been lacking since the President's heart attack and, as James Reston pointed out (**NYT,** 2/19), "this government's morale in Washington and its influence in the Middle East and Asia have seriously declined. . . ."



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Honestly, Professor, there are moments when I almost despair of human nature!"

SHIFT IN BALANCE: The speeches of the Soviet Communist leaders in Moscow would hardly have the effect of boosting Washington's morale. The underlying theme was that the world power balance has radically shifted in favor of the U. S. S. R. Said First Deputy Premier Mikoyan:

> "Not a single major international question can now be solved by the will of the Western powers alone without regard for the views of the Soviet Union, China, and all the countries of socialism. . . . In the minds of humanity socialism is now already incomparably stronger than capitalism."

Both Mikoyan and Defense Minister Zhukov spoke of the U. S. S. R.'s "diverse atomic and nuclear weapons, mighty guided missiles, among them long range missiles." They warned that "in the event of American aggression, as a retaliative measure, hydrogen bombs might fall also on American towns. . . ." (Democrats in Washington seized on these assertions as fuel for the campaign for bigger military expenditures.)

STALIN IS DISPUTED: A recurrent theme at the Soviet Congress was the demand for a "return" to Leninism, the repudiation of "the cult of personality," and, for the first time, direct and open attack on Stalin's policies, including even some of his theoretical analyses. Soviet historians, philosophers and economists were castigated as "insolvent" by Mikoyan. He said that the historians had explained events of the civil war period

> ". . . not by changes in the correlation of class forces but by the alleged treacherous activity of individual party leaders of that time, who were unjustly declared enemies of the people many years after the events described."

What the 20th Congress made clear was that the U. S. S. R.—because of its growing industrial strength and the shift in the world balance of power—has entered a new stage in its development: a time of changing to greater democratization and easing of safeguards at home. Some of these actions were set in motion before Stalin died and will now be accelerated. Similarly, Soviet foreign policy now has greater resourcefulness and flexibility. The way is being cleared for what Mikoyan called "a new stream of life" in all facets of Soviet development.

CHALLENGE TO WEST: To the West, the Soviet Congress appeared to be issuing "a declaration of war against capitalism" (**Business Week,** 2/18). Actually it was a direct challenge to "a struggle between two ideologies under conditions of peaceful coexistence" (Mikoyan).

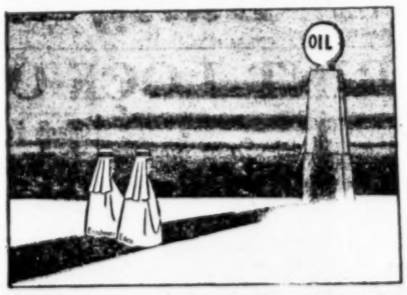
Some of the dilemmas in which Washington's cold warriors are placed by this kind of challenge are currently illustrated by the "balloon incident," on the one hand, and the situation in the Middle East, on the other.

The U. S. S. R.'s rejection of the U. S. explanation that the balloons drifting over the U. S. S. R. were "meteorological" was based, in Hanson Baldwin's words (**NYT,** 2/19), "on some pretty hard evidence in the form of cameras and presumably the pictures they have taken." Even before the U. S. S. R. offered to exhibit the captured balloons in Western capitals, Baldwin wrote:

> "Balloons launched by the military for military purposes have again raised the question of the credibility of the U. S. government."

Virtually admitting that at least some of the balloons were used for "espionage," as the Russians charged, Baldwin emphasized "all the political and psychological liabilities" which the U. S. has reaped. He predicted that the affair will discredit the President's "open skies" plan and so affect coming UN discussions on disarmament.

THE MIDDLE EAST: Throughout the Middle East, the U. S.-British threat to use armed intervention to "keep the peace"—and preserve their huge stake in the area—has met a cold response. Arab diplomats point out that the Middle East is not Nicaragua, that the time is not the 1920's but the 1950's.



Drawing by Gabriel, London

THE MIDDLE-EAST PROBLEM
"The problem is how to keep it to us Middle Easterners!"

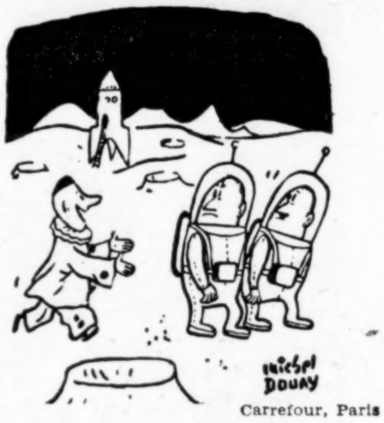
British and American officials "scoffed" at a Soviet note (2/13) which asserted Moscow's "legitimate concern" in the area and declared that

> ". . . separatist measures outside the UN and without the participation of the countries of the Near and Middle East cannot fail to constitute a threat to peace . . . and to violate the independence and sovereignty of countries of this area."

Faced with this notice that the U. S. S. R. would take to the UN any such moves in the area, State Dept. officials were quoted as saying that

> ". . . no amount of Russian statements will affect the determination of the U. S., Britain and France to resist aggression or threatened aggression in the Middle East, within or without the UN framework."

THE "NEW INTERVENTION": The fact is, however, that the Soviet note has made implementation of Western plans far more difficult, if not impossible. As the Paris **Le Monde** pointed out (2/15), the U. S. and Britain, after agreeing that the Middle East situation has been complicated by the appearance there of Soviet influence, "now pretend to find a solution without taking account of this new factor."



Carrefour, Paris

"Welcome to the moon."

Le Monde saw Western diplomacy no longer able to keep "newcomers" out of the area, especially as the "new intervention" takes the form of "trade negotiations aimed at increasing the volume of business on a strictly commercial basis." The West's only recourse, in **Le Monde's** view, is "to offer the Middle East identical or better conditions.

But for the Western powers such offers present real problems. Underdeveloped countries need stable markets for their raw materials. But the U. S. can hardly buy their raw material surpluses while engaged in trying to dump its own huge surpluses on world markets. Britain's ability to maneuver in the economic field is being restricted by the creeping crisis in its own economy. This was brought home last week by the raising of the British bank rate to 5½% (third rise in a year), and other deflationary measures: cuts in government capital spending; elimination of government subsidies on milk and bread; restrictions on installment credit.

These measures hit at consumers and workers and are likely to create unemployment. Few responsible observers believe they will restore the balance of the economy. The **Christian Science Monitor** reported (2/17) that some economists believe they will "unbalance it all over again."

"SOLUTIONS" IN BRITAIN: So long as military spending eats up a third of the British budget (it is to increase slightly this year) Britain can find no real solution to the problem created by the imbalance of its imports and exports. If Britain is to increase exports, it needs more not less industrial investment. Even in 1951, when industrial investment was at its highest, it was not high enough, as London's **New Statesman** pointed out (12/31/55), to maintain Britain's competitive position. Britain's investment per worker is several times less than that of the U. S. and even considerably lower than W. Germany's.

The British government is now restricting business investment by raising the cost of money and cutting back government capital spending. Moreover, since Britain is a debtor nation, raising the interest rate means it will have to pay more money out in interest on borrowed money, and hence add to its import bill. Clearly, the Tory government proposes only one remedy for Britain's worsening trade position: cutting living standards of labor and consumers.

Britain's dollar and gold reserves have fallen by 25% in the past year. This is one reason for its sharp differences with the W. German government over the latter's refusal to continue cash contributions to the support of U. S.-British-French troops in W. Germany. For Britain the end of these W. German payments would mean an additional outlay of $196 million in hard currency. The delay in W. German rearmament has, furthermore, given W. Germany what the London **Times** (2/8) called "a formidable advantage in export markets." Despite strong pressure from London, Washington and Paris, which insist that Bonn should continue to pay since its own rearmament is not fully underway, Bonn shows no signs of yielding.

A doctor's diagnosis

SNOWFLAKES are gathering in my locks. . . . I am not coming this way again and time is much shorter than I think. My reserves—financial, cardiac and emotional—are nearly exhausted. I am suffering from hardening of the categories, blinkered thinking and encrusted ideas.

Our country is now assuming the character of a "true democracy" by boldly proclaiming our objective to be a world of peace, by instituting a war, to compel co-operation for peace. . . .

Our friends in the White House are reaching a comic opera stage. We are barging into a war brought on by the greatest horde of political misfits to ever hold the destiny of a free people in the palm of their assorted fumbling hands.

We are going to need an army of at last 30 million soldiers and to have one million of our lovely boys slaughtered, and for what? Because we refuse to be honest, just and fair with the other fellow.

Having nothing up my sleeve, nothing up my pants leg, nothing on my hip and literally nothing more worth saying—LET THERE BE AMAZEMENT.

—C. R. Byars, M. D.
Letter to the Editor,
Houston **Post,** Jan. 29

THE FRENCH CRISIS: Another type of difficulty in meeting the Soviet challenge in under-developed countries is apparent in the crisis developing in France over N. Africa. The liberation movement in Algeria has become so strong that France must make political concessions. But there is no French government in sight strong enough to put through such concessions. The Republican Front government of Guy Mollet has already yielded to the pressure of the French settlers and the French right. On his return from N. Africa, Mollet presented a program which postponed—and was evasive about—political reforms, while urging large scale economic reforms as a stopgap.

But France doesn't have the resources for such a program, quite apart from the fact that Algerians will not be satisfied by anything less than substantial political concessions. **Newsweek** (2/2) insisted that "force is now the only practical way [for France] to keep any sort of control of the situation." But with 210,000 French troops already in Algeria and the military situation steadily deteriorating, force means large-scale war. French commentators have warned that this could mean civil war in France itself.

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MUST WE HAVE FLOODS—AND DROUGHT? — II

The Central Valley Project

By Reuben W. Borough

(Second of three articles)

LOS ANGELES

The first article described the havoc and destruction wrought by the December and January floods in California and three other Western states and told how the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has blocked construction of multiple-purpose dams that could have prevented the damage. Following is a description of the monumental Central Valley Project which is still to be achieved in full.

SOMETHING OF THE DETAILS of Central Valley Project functioning and of its background must be given. The Project, a five-billion-dollar development, is less than a quarter completed. Its objective is to open to settlement 3,000,000 acres (more than 4,500 square miles) of land not now irrigated plus more than 2,000,000 acres (more than 3,000 square miles) partially irrigated from inadequate ground water supplies; generate 8,000,000 kilowatt hours of power a year; and provide the many benefits of tested conservation policy such as flood control, forestation, extension of navigation and creation of commerce and industry.

Great projects like CVP are not born in a vacuum—they are not isolated from history. The roots of CVP reach back to the political and social upheaval in California in the decade 1910 to 1920. It was the decade of the Progressive Party in California and the nation—the party which nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President and Hiram Johnson for vice-president in 1912. It was a period of revolt against the private corporation exploitation of business and politics, the chief target of popular wrath being the public utilities.

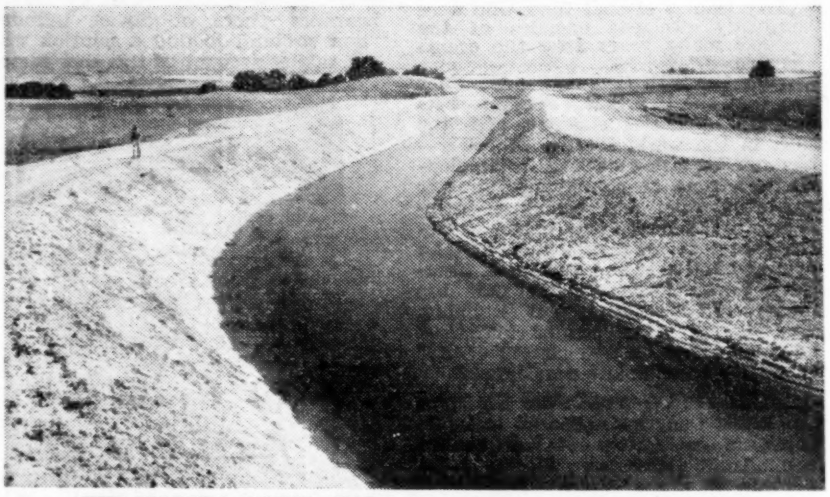
A TIME OF PROGRESS: In California this revolt achieved spectacular power, wrecking the bi-partisan Republican and Democratic political machines. Public ownership of power was authorized by constitutional amendment and began to spread over the state. Irrigation districts, also the product of progressive politics, spotted the state, eminent among them the Modesto and Turlock Irrigation Districts with their publicly owned and operated irrigation and power-generating project, the San Pedro Dam, a model for the rural areas. The City of Los Angeles began its quest for water and its quarter-century fight with the power trust which ended in complete victory for the people through the creation of one of the greatest municipally owned and operated power plants in the world and the achievement of a complete monopoly for its enterprise within the municipal limits.

From such a political atmosphere—and only from such a political atmosphere—could emerge the profoundly democratic concept of California's Central Valley Project.

Before we lay bare the mechanics of the scheme, let us provide the natural setting. Let us take a look at the rugged topography of this state. Considerably more than half the state's area consists of mountains—mountains nearly everywhere within the scope of vision, the higher ranges snow-capped; mountains, we should never for one moment forget, that are the common property of the people—and their perpetual snow and ice fields the common property of the people.

MOUNTAINS MEAN LIFE: Now, it is true that our California cities and farms cannot live on these mountains but it is also true that without those mountains and their snow and ice fields and their forests there would be no life for our California cities and farms, where they are, no cultivated and industrialized California, for the ribbon valleys and the coastal plains and the rich central valley would be reduced to badlands, gullied and parched and drifting about in sand storms.

Now a glimpse at the central valley with its valley floor of 12,000,000 acres, its 60,000 farms and its 2,000,000 population. The valley runs north and south. Down the center of the northern half runs the Sacramento River. Up two-thirds of the southern half flows the San Joaquin River. The two streams meet in a delta region near the center of the state opposite San Francisco and their waters flow together into San Francisco Bay.



THE MADERA CANAL: PART OF CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT
It carries precious water to parched San Joaquin Valley acres

"MOVE THE RAIN": Here is the tip-off to the over-all function of the Central Valley Project:

The northern end of the valley has two-thirds of the rainfall of the valley and one-third of the irrigable land.

The southern end of the valley has one-third of the rainfall and two-thirds of the irrigable land.

The Reclamation Bureau began to "move the rain south," to use the picturesque figure of one of its field engineers. It began to do other things, as we shall see.

The initial features of the Project were an accomplished fact by 1951. The Reclamation Bureau had built the second largest and second highest dam in the world, the Shasta Dam, and with it a power plant, in the northern end of the Sacramento Valley. Directly below the Shasta Dam the Bureau had built the Keswick Dam for the regulation of the water from the Shasta Dam. The purposes of the combined achievement were: power generation (450,000 kilowatts), flood control, navigation, irrigation, repulsion of salinity.

TWO RIVERS FOR ONE: The surplus Sacramento River water piled behind these two dams was transferred by intermediate canals to the long Delta Mendota canal and carried south to the thirsty lands of the San Joaquin Valley. A second great dam, the Friant Dam, was built to divert the waters of the San Joaquin River and redistribute them through the Madera and Friant-Kern canals in the San Joaquin Valley. Thus two rivers, in place of one, now served the San Joaquin Valley.

When the partially-completed Project went into full operation in 1951 it met with state-wide acclaim. The farmers got CVP water at costs materially lower than they had ever paid before.

That CVP's power rates are lower than the wholesale rates of the private power companies is an incontestable fact—Pacific Gas & Electric openly and bitterly complains of it. And CVP power is not subsidized out of taxes—on the contrary it is paying off the investment in the power project and in addition piling up a surplus in the federal treasury after helping to pay for CVP irrigation works.

WHAT'S TO COME: The potential five-billion-dollar investment program outlined by the Reclamation Bureau is, as we have said before, not yet a quarter realized. There are less than a dozen attained salient features of power plants, dams, canals. The ultimate plan, according to the Interior Department's latest report, embraces the following maze of detail:

- Thirty-eight major reservoirs rimming the great valley, which with minor diversions and afterbays would afford 51 public recreation centers.
- Many hydro-electric plants, furnishing cheap public power.
- Hundreds of main canals, thousands of miles of lateral canals, transmission lines, power sub-stations, pumping plants and other works.

The reservoirs would have a total capacity of 30,000,000 acre-feet of water. The more than 3,000,000 acres to be irrigated would furnish 15,000 to 20,000 family-size farms to settlers. What an inspiring construction challenge to the unemployed of state and nation!

NEXT WEEK: The key to CVP and flood control: publicly owned and publicly operated power dams.

N. J. PROGRESSIVE LEADER DIES

Katharine Van Orden

KATHARINE ARMATAGE VAN ORDEN of Verona, N. J., treasurer of the national Progressive Party and one of the leading figures in the political and civic life of her community and state, died Feb. 20. She was 53 but her youthful, spirited appearance and unceasing activity belied her age. More seriously ill than she believed since an operation last year, she continued her many activities to within a week of her death at her home, 27 Summit Rd., Verona.

Wife of Louis J. Van Orden and mother of two sons, Mrs. Van Orden was a founder of the League of Women Shoppers, which urged American women to "use their buying power for justice," was its first N. J. president and later national president. She was also an active member of the League of Women Voters and during World War II was appointed by President Truman to the Consumers Advisory Council of the Office of Price Administration. She was a member of the executive board of the Montclair chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and a leader in the N. J. Independent Citizens League.

TWICE A CANDIDATE: In association with James Imbrie of Lawrenceville, N. J., she helped organize the Progressive Party of New Jersey in 1948, was its candidate for Congress in that year and for the Senate in 1950. She initiated a free speech test case which affirmed the right of civic and political movements to use public address systems.

KATHARINE VAN ORDEN
Too soon for a bright spirit

She was the daughter of Mrs. A. W. Armatage and the late Arthur A. Armatage of Minneapolis, where she was born. She attended Smith College. On one of her few extended vacations in recent years, she toured Europe for several weeks last autumn.

She was a devoted friend of the GUARDIAN from its earliest days. Her passing will be mourned by many thousands to whose service she devoted much of a full and unstinting life.

SACB ORDER

Amer.-Soviet Council will appeal ruling

THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES Control Board last week ordered the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship to register with the Attorney General as a "Communist front."

The Natl. Council immediately announced it will appeal all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary. Meanwhile, its officers said, the Council "is resolved to continue its efforts as before, confident that the courts will reverse the decision of the SACB and rehabilitate the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship."

In a formal statement the Council charged that the SACB decision was based on testimony of informers "most of whom admitted that they had never directly participated in the organization or had first-hand knowledge of it." The Council said:

> "The SACB condemns the Natl. Council largely on the ground that it strives for accommodation and friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union and because the Natl. Council is opposed to the witch-hunt and is vigorously resisting attacks on the Bill of Rights."

LAMONT HITS BACK: The Board cleared one of the original sponsors of the Council, former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Joseph E. Davies, on the grounds that when the Council was formed in 1943 it "did not then and has not since revealed the actual Communist control." But it described Corliss Lamont as "a Communist Party functionary, selected by the party as first chairman [of the Council]."

Lamont's reply was short:

> "This contemptible and dishonest decision by the witch-hunting SACB is designed to prevent public-minded citizens from working for the patriotic purpose of abolishing war and hydrogen bombs through American-Soviet co-operation and understanding.
>
> "The board's charge that I have been a Communist functionary is absurd beyond words. I testified under oath before the McCarthy committee in 1953 that I was not and never have been a member of the Communist Party. Every day America continues to lose influence in the world by Government agencies and officials making fools of themselves."

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS TO CP CONGRESS

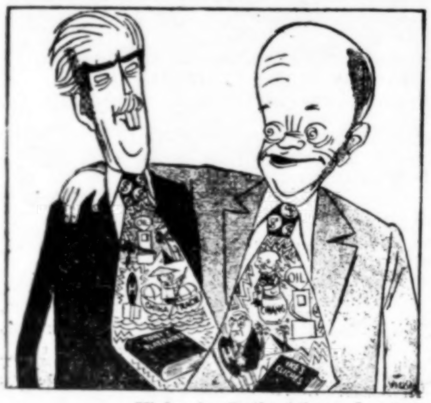
Khrushchev says peaceful co-existence is basis of Soviet policy

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, First Secy. of the Soviet Communist Party, in the keynote address to the Party's 20th Congress, outlined its perspective on the world situation and the U. S. S. R.'s internal development. Excerpts follow:

The principal feature of our epoch is the emergence of socialism from the confines of one country and its transformation into a world system. Capitalism has proved impotent to hinder this world-historic process. . . .

The economy of world capitalism is developing in an exceedingly irregular manner and is becoming still more unstable. . . .

The economic struggle between the capitalist countries is flaring up with ever-growing force. As hitherto, the main contradiction is between the United States and Great Britain. . . .



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"We are firmly resolved to strengthen our Anglo-American ties, etc., etc.—Er, though some differences remain . . ."

The situation in Western Europe is also becoming worse, as the emergence of a rapidly growing German rival harbors no good for France and Britain, the more so if it is to be pushed further along the road of militarization. . . .

OLD ACTS, NEW FACTS: Khrushchev then described the origins of the cold war and the formation of the West's globe-circling military pacts and went on to tell of the new fact in today's world:

The forces of peace have grown considerably with the appearance in the world arena of the group of peace-loving states in Europe and Asia, which have proclaimed non-participation in blocs to be the principle of their foreign policy.

As a result, an extensive "zone of peace," including both Socialist and non-Socialist peace-loving states of Europe and Asia, has appeared on the world arena.

This zone extends over a vast area of the globe, inhabited by nearly 1,500,000,000 people, or the majority of the population of our planet. . . .

No little unhappiness in the world today stems from the fact that in many countries the working class remained split for many years and its different detachments do not act in a united front, a situation that plays only into the hands of the forces of reaction. But now, in our opinion, the prospects of changing the situation are opening up.

Here co-operation also with sections of the Socialist movement adhering to other views than ours in the question of the transition to socialism is possible and necessary.

Today many Social Democrats are for an active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for closer relations with Socialist countries, and for unity of the labor movement. We sincerely welcome the Social Democrats, and are ready to do everything possible to unite our efforts in a fight for the noble cause of the defense of peace and the interests of the working people. . . .

3 MAJOR PROBLEMS: Describing the "detente" which has occurred since Geneva, Khrushchev said that the U. S. S. R. has already done much to bring closer the positions of the great powers and "it is now up to the U. S., Britain and France." Promising further Soviet efforts to ease tension, he said:

"The method of negotiation must become the only method of resolving international issues. Collective security in Europe, collective security in Asia, and disarmament—these are the three major problems, whose solution can create a basis for a stable and lasting peace."

Noting that "a new Washington-Bonn axis" is emerging and "increasing the dangers of war," he again urged a collective security system in Europe, and on the question of disarmament declared:

Pending agreement on the major questions of disarmament, we express readiness to agree to certain partial measures in this sphere, such as the cessation of tests of thermo-nuclear weapons, not to permit troops on the territory of Germany to have atomic weapons, and the reduction of military budgets. . . .

"FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE": Khrushchev urged that the five principles of peaceful co-existence be made the basis of U. S.-U. S. S. R. relations, stressed the importance of friendship pacts in helping to eliminate suspicion, noted that Soviet initiatives for peace have not "met with due understanding and support in the U. S. But we want to hope that it will be properly appreciated in the U. S. and matters will change for the better." The U. S. S. R., he said, has advocated peaceful co-existence since its inception: "Hence, this is not a tactical stratagem but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy." He went on:

The principle of peaceful co-existence is gaining increasingly wider international recognition.

And this is logical, since there is no other way out in the present situation. Indeed, there are only two ways: either peaceful co-existence, or the most devastating war in history. There is no third alternative.

We presume that countries with differing social systems cannot just simply exist side by side. There must be progress to better relations, to stronger confidence among them, to co-operation.

As will be recalled, there is a Marxist-Leninist premise which says that while imperialism exists wars are inevitable.

While capitalism remains on earth the reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue to strive for war gambles and aggression, and may try to let loose war.

There is no fatal inevitability of war.

Now there are powerful social and political forces, commanding serious means capable of preventing the unleashing of war by the imperialists, and—should they try to start it—of delivering a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and thwarting their adventuristic plans. . . .

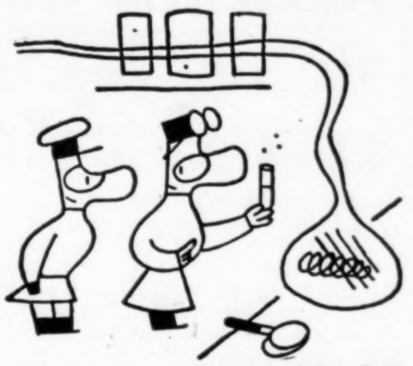
In view of the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world arena, new prospects have also opened up with regard to the transition of countries and nations to socialism.

It is quite likely that the forms of the transition to socialism will become more and more variegated. Moreover, it is not obligatory for the implementation of these forms to be connected with civil war in all circumstances. . . .

However, the greater or lesser degree of acuteness in the struggle, the use or not of force in the transition to socialism, depend not so much on the proletariat as on the extent of the resistance put up by the exploiters, and on the employment of violence by the exploiting class itself.

In this connection the question arises of the possibility of employing the parliamentary form for the transition to socialism. For the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to accomplish the transition to socialism, this way was excluded.

However, since then radical changes have taken place in the historical situation that allows an approach to this question from another angle.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"I've discovered the secret of Coca Cola, Tovarich!"

Socialism has become a great magnetizing force for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in all lands. The ideas of socialism are really conquering the minds of all toiling mankind. . . .

TRANSITION BY VOTING: Hence, said Khrushchev, in some countries where capitalism is weak and bourgeois governments bankrupt, a strong working class may make the transition to socialism by parliamentary means. But he added:

Of course in countries where capitalism is still strong and where it controls an enormous military and police machine, the serious resistance of the reactionary forces is inevitable.

There the transition to socialism will proceed amid conditions of acute class revolutionary struggle.

Khrushchev outlined the Soviet Party's tasks in the foreign field as: (1) fight actively for peace; (2) strengthen relations with Yugoslavia and other socialist countries; (3) reinforce friendship and co-operation with states that stand for peace (India, Burma, Syria, Egypt, etc.), develop relations with Finland, Austria and other neutral states; (4) conduct an active policy of further improving relations with the U. S., Britain, France, etc.; (5) remain vigilant against the enemies of peace.

On the home front Khrushchev promised introduction of the seven-hour day in 1957; a better pension system; improvement in housing conditions. He also set the task of building—in the next two or three five-year plans—the country's third metallurgical center in Siberia.

VOLPE'S FIVE-YEAR PURSUIT

Trenton Six Case doctor found guilty of perjury; said men appeared drugged

By Milly Salwen

TRENTON, N. J.

DR. J. MINOR SULLIVAN 3d, Negro physician, was convicted Feb. 9 on seven counts of perjury stemming from his testimony at the trial that exploded the case against the Trenton Six. The guilty verdict from Judge Charles M. Morris ended a five-year-long pursuit by prosecutor Mario Volpe of the doctor he had called twice as his own witness.

Dr. Sullivan, whose request for a trial without jury was granted when lawyers showed the jury panel was rigged to exclude Negroes, faces seven years in prison. His attorneys said they would appeal the conviction.

The charge against the doctor stemmed from the night, eight years ago, when Volpe summoned him to the police station to witness the signing of "confessions" by five of six Negro men charged with murder. Dr. Sullivan was then deputy county physician.

WORLD CAMPAIGN: After their first trial, handled by court-appointed lawyers, the Trenton Six were all sentenced to death. A worldwide campaign exposing the frame-up won them a new trial which freed four of the men, including the two Volpe said had actually committed the crime.

Under cross-examination at the second trial, Dr. Sullivan testified that some of the men appeared drugged, others frightened and suggestible, the night he watched them sign their lives away. The perjury indictment charged he lied when he gave this testimony.

Defending Dr. Sullivan were Congressman Frank Thompson Jr., Mercer County Democratic chief Thorn Lord, and former Judge Henry Schenk, retained by the NAACP. Dr. Sullivan is an alternate delegate to the state Democratic committee. Both Volpe and Judge Morris are Republicans. Many prominent Jersey political figures, including Trenton Mayor Donal J. Connolly and former Rep. Charles R. Howell, now state banking commissioner, appeared as character witnesses for the doctor.

CASE RE-TRIED: At the trial, the prosecutor leaned heavily on long stretches of testimony from the transcripts of both trials of the Trenton Six. But Dr. Sullivan was unable to introduce other trial testimony which coincided with his own. Also barred from evidence were the notes he jotted down at the time he examined the men, which had been marked for exhibit at the second trial. These notes, said attorney Lord, "would utterly destroy the fiction that this man perjured himself . . . but they have been suppressed."

In his summation, assistant prosecutor Frank Lawton seemed determined to retry the Trenton Six case.

It violates common decency and fair play

WHEN THEY ASKED the Governors and Legislatures of 13 Southern States to join them in "unified action" to "nullify" the U. S. Supreme Court decree for ending racial segregation in the public schools, those four Governors meeting in Richmond recently were putting States' rights above human rights.

The executives, with an eye to the 10th Amendment, assert that "the States have not delegated to the Federal Government . . . the power to prohibit the segregation of the races in the public schools. . . ."

But do the States possess any such power to delegate?

The Supreme Court says "No." It bases that opinion on the 14th Amendment: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Says the Constitution in effect: Negroes are people. Negroes are citizens. There are no second-class citizens.

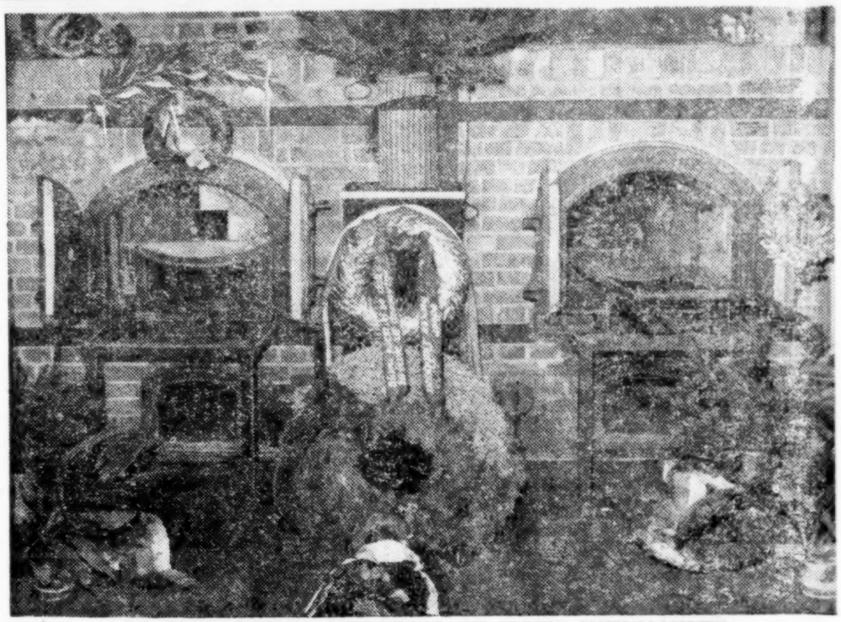
It follows that the boasted American heritage belongs to the white and Negro children, share and share alike. Both are entitled to training for earning a living, for enjoying the free way of life and of citizenship on completely equal terms.

But, as the high court perceived and declared, segregation denies the Negro child such schooling as the white child gets. That is, by abridging the Negro child's birthright, segregation violates the 14th Amendment. It also violates civic conscience, common decency and fair play.

Editorial in the San Antonio Express, Feb. 4.

PROTECTED IN HIGH PLACES

Nazis who butchered Jews are running free in Austria, seek old police jobs back



AN EVERLASTING MEMORIAL OF MAN'S INHUMANITY
The gas ovens at the concentration camp at Dachau, Germany

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

VIENNA

IN NOVEMBER, 1955, transports from the U. S. S. R. carrying several dozen Austrian Nazi war criminals reached Austria. Among the criminals was Johann Sanitzer, Austria's No. 1 Gestapo butcher, who was found guilty of murdering hundreds of Austrian men, women and children. He has also been charged by the Austrian wartime resistance movement with murdering 50 U. S. airmen in the winter of 1944-45.

These men had served seven to eight years of their sentences in the U. S. S. R. Under the Peace Treaty, they were turned over to the new sovereign Austrian government for further sentencing and for completion of their terms.

THE KOLOMEA SLAUGHTER: Among them, in the transport of Nov. 16, were 12 men responsible for the wholesale murder of Jews in Kolomea, Poland. They had been recognized in 1947 by the few Jews who had found their way back to Vienna. Ironically the murderers in 1947 were employed in the Austrian police force. At first little credence was given to the accusations, but search of their homes revealed a vast treasure in furs, religious articles and silver.

The men were arrested. Further investigation showed them responsible for the wholesale slaughter of Russian partisans. They confessed, and their original confessions remained with the police in Vienna when they were shipped off to Russia. Among the confessions were the following:

FRANZ SCHIPANY: Described by his own comrades as "unbelievably cruel," he said in 1947:

> "In the Kolomean ghetto, I often found Jews trying to hide. When I caught them some tried to escape; I used my pistol and shot them on the spot. On occasion women and children were thus dealt with."

Describing the liquidations in the Jewish cemetery, Schipany said:

> "Occasionally I watched in the ghetto how Jews, wounded by shots, were mutilated by Gestapo dogs. . . . In the cemetery the Jews were forced to undress and lie flat on their stomachs in already-prepared mass graves where they were killed by a shot through the head."

JAKOB UITZ: In his confession he said: "Approximately 15,000 persons were shot in Kolomea; among these persons were women and children."

ALOIS STEINER: "Jews were liquidated in the public slaughter house of the ghetto. Our special task was to 'make cold' those who attempted to escape liquidation."

BURNING FLESH: Witnesses confirmed the confessions. An engineer named Mund, who was transferred in 1941 to Stanislaw, said:

> "On Oct. 12, 1941, 10,000 Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery. The last action which I remember in the ghetto was its liquidation at Easter, 1943. The corpses appear not to have been buried but burned on the spot. For about two weeks all of Stanislaw smelled of burning corpses."

Another witness, Leopold Winkler, a prison official, said all the persons engaged in the "liquidation activities" were Viennese. In all, 70,000 persons were murdered in Stanislaw.

The Nov. 18 transport, which brought Sanitzer, also carried two men who made a specialty of child murder: Leopold Mitas and Josef Poell, stationed at Borislaw during the war. Frau Lotte Albach, a survivor of the ghetto there, testified that in Borislaw the children were not shot but hit over the head with a pistol and then thrown into a grave, sometimes half alive.

THE "VICTIMS": The repetition of such horror may be tiresome for the reader but, with few exceptions, the Austrian press has been silent on the subject. Yet these men, who were returned for re-sentencing, are not only at liberty but are gaining vast influence in Austria today—thanks to their protectors in high places.

They have formed themselves into an Assn. of Late Returnees (**Spaetheimkehrverband**). In some right-wing circles they are honored "martyrs" and "victims of the occupation." They not only demand their pensions—for which the Ministry of Finance has already granted an advance of 20 million schillings—but insist that those below pension age be reinstated in the police or be given jobs in the new army. They even demand that the years they served in Poland be computed in fixing their pensions. In other words, mass murder is to be rewarded by a state subsidy!

THE STORY OF LODZ: The present Austrian government, which has welcomed back such notorious characters as Prince Starhemberg, early fascist leader, is hardly likely to take a firm stand against the less highly-placed profiteers of fascism. Even in 1947, when the war criminals were handed over to the Soviet Union, only a few of them had been arrested.

Dr. Lothar Klein, then in charge of the investigations, wanted to pursue the job. He was mainly concerned with Lodz, on which much material was then available to the Vienna Security Police. It was known, for example, that 63,000 Jews had been liquidated in Lodz. They were assembled in four halls of a factory which were drenched with gasoline and set afire. Many of the police who engaged in this action were Viennese.

Of the three survivors of this day of horrors, two went mad; but the third one made a fully-documented statement. On the basis of this, Dr. Klein and his collaborators reconstructed the crimes and were ready to proceed with arrests when, early in 1948, his group was dissolved. Dr. Klein was dismissed from the security police and named head of the police district of Floridsdorf. This was done at the instigation of the Ministry of Interior.

DR. KLEIN'S FATE: Recently, Interior Minister Helmer, who calls himself a socialist, relieved Dr. Klein of his Floridsdorf post and transferred him to the economic police—where he will have no access to criminal files.

Since the State Treaty was signed last summer, Vienna's police have been purged of liberal elements. If the right-wing pressure continues, Austria's police may soon become the haven of ex-war criminals.

It would seem that Jewish tourists, who have flocked to Austria by the tens of thousands in the last few years—mainly from Israel and the U. S.—might have second thoughts in planning their 1956 holidays.

Chicago parley March 18 on Walter-McCarran Act

Thirty-six prominent clergymen, educators, civic and trade union leaders in the Midwest are sponsoring the Midwest Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans.

The Conference will be held in Chicago on Sunday, March 18. The sessions, ending with a banquet that evening, will take place at the Midwest Hotel, 6 North Hamlin.

The News
HIGH COURT BANS
SEGREGA IN

THIS WAS THE HISTORIC DAY: MAY 17, 1954

JIMCROW'S DEAD END ALLEY

What is interposition?

By Eugene Gordon

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT decision on schools set jimcrow running down a dead-end alley. Close to the dead-end, jimcrow supporters in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, S. Carolina and Virginia are trying to cut an escape route with a legal gimmick called "interposition." The meaning of the word, debatable when it was first used to weaken the Union in 1798, has grown foggier with time. Its origins are traced in the **Cyclopedia of American Government:**

> "The Virginia Resolution of 1798 declared that the powers of the federal government result from the compact to which the states are parties, and 'that, in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the social compact, the states, which are parties thereto, have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil' for maintaining their rights. What was meant by interposition? It has sometimes been asserted that it meant nothing more nor less than nullification by a single state. Madison declared in later years, that such was not the meaning. It is not unlikely that nothing more was intended than to secure, by co-operation among the states, a general expression of opinion. But it is possible that the framers had in mind a convention of the states to pass upon the Constitution or that they planned authoritative interpretation by amendment."

NULLIFICATION? The controversy touched on by Madison is now raging in the South: do the states which have passed "interposition" resolutions mean to nullify the U. S. Constitution? The New Dictionary of American Politics says that nullification is an "alleged right" of a state, "acting in a sovereign capacity through a convention of its people, to declare an act of Congress 'null, void and no law, not binding upon the state, its officers or citizens.' "

Interposition as a weapon against the court ruling was endorsed by the governors of Georgia, Mississippi, S. Carolina and Virginia at a Richmond conference on Jan. 24. They left it to each state to word its interposition resolution. Reporters for **Southern School News** got the impression from S. Carolina Gov. Timmerman's reading of the statement after the closed meeting that

> "the Virginia, S. Carolina and Mississippi chief executives favor resolutions that do not contain clauses stating that the Supreme Court's

(Continued on Page 7)

TENSION POINT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The `unknown Arab minority' in Israel

By M. Avi-Shaul

Special to the GUARDIAN

Mordecai Avi-Shaul is a well-known progressive Hebrew writer and translator of Thomas Mann, who has lived in Palestine and Israel for 35 years. He will contribute articles to the GUARDIAN from time to time.

United Nations photo

"ARABS OUTSIDE ISRAEL'S LIFE STREAM"

That is how these wanderers have been characterized

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

A TRAVELLER COMING to tour the Negeb (the south of Israel, extending to the Red Sea port of Eilat) certainly would expect some romantic experiences of the desert: black Bedouin tents, a lonely camel rider in flying Bedouin cloak (the **abaye**), a woman with a jar on her head coming under the palms. But the expectations would hardly be realized.

The silent emptiness of the Negeb—at least the northern part—between the bordering Arab states of Egypt and Jordan, is being filled with Jewish settlements; and still new immigrants, under the guidance of enthusiastic young people from the older villages and **kibbutzim** (communal settlements), try hard to "conquer" the soil—not only sand dunes but cultivated land too.

Of course, there may still be found some remnants of the old Bedouin inhabitants, although they too are not so nomadic (at least not by their free choice) as some foreigners may imagine. If they are now wandering they are doing so at the command of the Jewish authorities who transfer them to special reservations.

NO PROTEST IN PRESS: These Bedouins have been settled in the Negeb for many generations, tilling their common tribal land (which eventually became partly the property of their chieftains). Since the foundation of the state of Israel they have continuously been pressed farther and farther south and driven to more distant regions under the pretext of "security." Their land has been confiscated.

From time to time local papers print romantic stories about these tribes, usually with an undertone of deep regret that the "march of civilization" is destroying the old patriarchal way of life. But seldom do the writers utter a word of real good will or protest; still less often do they fight for the human rights of the poverty-stricken, starving Bedouins, who are completely at the mercy of a military governor, or a policeman or a petty official.

A FORBIDDEN PLACE: The main concern of such articles is the "gallant" sheikh who is a glutton and first-class shot, the ruling potentate with his 40 wives and curved sword and his Chrysler; his promiscuous purchases in the marketplace of the ancient town of Beer Sheba. A few years ago Beer Sheba was still an Arab center; today it is a purely Jewish town and a forbidden place to the Bedouins (except their chiefs), who are not allowed even to visit a doctor there without a special permit. But once a week they may come to sell (if they have anything to sell) and buy (if they have money).

But travel a few miles outside Beer Sheba, to an unpleasant place naturally not much frequented by tourists—the refuse heaps of the town. There you will see a strange gathering of unpicturesque women, old and young, with hungry children in dirty rags or hardly a rag at all. They are waiting for the refuse vans. The moment these are emptied they start picking up bits of rotten food, bread, worm-gnawed fruit, empty tins, wire, wood, a ragged hat or cap, and other such valuables. The scene gives no hint of prosperity, but a clever guide will explain it: "They are taking the garbage to feed their animals." Witness this and then read the stories of the romantic customs of the noble sheikh.

A COLOR BAR? Now if you were to ask whether a color bar exists in Israel the answer would be: Ridiculous! How can such a thing exist in a nation where tens of thousands of Jews live who themselves are as black as the blackest Arab! The Charter of Independence says there must be no discrimination on ground of race, language, creed or nationality in Israel. And you can find no law enacted by the Knesset (Parliament) directed explicitly **against** the Arabs. Some Knesset members may even tell you that laws dealing with Arabs—like the land acquisition law of 1953—are not only "entirely devoid of any discriminatory aspects," but actually are designed "to protect the Arab land owner."

What they cannot explain away is the existence in Israel of a military government which rules all or most of the Arabs. Liberal-minded individuals, the left-wing workers' parties and the IHUD association, founded by Dr. J. L. Magnes, have time and again protested the cruel regulations imposed on the Arab population. In a memorandum to the Knesset, the Central Committee of IHUD said of the land acquisition law:

> "The legislation will legalize an existing fact, namely the expropriation of land belonging to Arab subjects living in Israel by right and not on sufferance."

"LIKE GHETTOS OF OLD": One of the Bedouin tribes, according to the newspaper **Al-Hamishmar,** submitted to the government a memorandum asking an exit permit for 3,000 of its members. At the same time it applied to the United Kingdom consulate for entry in one of the British colonies. Sheikh 'Eyd Ibrahim wrote:

> "It is seven years now that my people have not had a day of rest and quiet. We are fenced in like the Jews in the ghettos of the Middle Ages; we are fined and jailed for every exit or entrance into other places; thousands of Israeli liras are being collected from us while the drought is devouring us and our women and children are suffering hunger. Many times have we been helpful to the Jews—and now they drive us into the desert! Is this our reward for all our services rendered to the state of Israel?"

Sheikh Suleiman of another tribe said:

> "Four times have we been driven from one place to another, since the founding of the state of Israel. They uprooted us from our lands in the western Negeb and threw us into this barren desert, that we might find here sustenance for our women and children and sheep. From time immemorial we owned the best lands of the Negeb. We have had there vineyards and seed land, hundreds of houses and wells and other property. We have been settled there for hundreds of years and, unlike other Bedouin tribes, we never have left the place. We have maintained the best relations with the neighboring Jewish settlements, helping them in peace and war. We have supplied them with arms and food and transportation and also with watchmen. Our tribe numbered 4,300 when the state was set up. Now there remain only about 1,000 within the territory of Israel. We have about 100 children of school age, but they are illiterate."

"THE UNKNOWN MINORITY": The fate of the Bedouins of the Negeb may not reflect exactly the actual conditions of the Arabs in every part of Israel. But in essence it is the same everywhere. Almost the entire Arab population of Israel—190,000—are living under a military government, except for small groups in a few towns. Of the total, 150,000 are concentrated in Galilee, with Nazareth as their center.

The Arabs, described by a columnist of the semi-official **Jerusalem Post** as "The Unknown Minority" (with the subtitle: "Arabs Outside Israel's Life Stream"), are courageously fighting for their human rights. They consider this country their lawful home, where they want to live as free citizens, without oppression or discrimination.

On their side they find many liberal-minded Jewish intellectuals and the majority of the working people. These Jews ceaselessly demand the abolition of the Arab ghetto and all other restrictions that make the life of the Arab minority a hell—and at the same time undermine Arab-Jewish conciliation.

Interposition

(Continued from Page 6)

> segregation decision is 'nullified,' while Georgia's Gov. Griffin favors an all-out declaration that the court decision is null and void."

SOVEREIGN WHITES: The statement denied that the states had delegated to the federal government or any of its agencies "the power to prohibit the segregation of the races in the public schools," recommended to the legislatures of states concerned "resolutions of interposition or protest . . . against the encroachment of the central government upon the sovereignty of the several states and their people."

The Governors recommended that Congress be urged "to protect the states and their people against present and future encroachment by the central government" and that "each state exercise its right to enact and utilize such other appropriate legal measures as it may deem advisable. . . ." A Miss. Congressman declared in the House next day that it was time "the states must reassert their constitutional rights or suffer their own destruction." He said:

> "If [nullification] is not to be the purpose, the act of interposition becomes merely an expression of disfavor and is meaningless, [for interposition] is the act by which a state attempts to nullify."

REMEMBER APPOMATTOX: Louis Lautier, writing for the Negro Natl. Newspaper Publishers Assn. (2/11), agreed:

> "No matter how the resolution of 'interposition,' passed by the Virginia Gen. Assembly on Feb. 1, may be sugar-coated, the fact is that 'interposition' carried to its legal conclusion means nullification, secession or revolution. Nullification and secession were based upon the theory of 'interposition' and were disposed of when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. The right of revolution is another matter. Certainly the federal government has the power to resist a second rebellion of Confederate states. The Constitution gives it that power."

An unnamed "prominent white S. Carolina lawyer" is quoted in the Baltimore **Afro-American** (2/11) as saying that leaders of the interposition movement are not making the "legal" fight they profess, Supreme Court decisions being "the law of the land and just as much to be obeyed as a congressional enactment." He said:

> "The Supreme Court made it clear that all laws on state and local levels must yield to its ruling. That's final. Efforts to set up new laws are just a waste of time and are certain to be struck down by federal courts. In their zeal to outsmart the high court, Southern states fighting against effectuation of the [May 31, 1955, ruling] are apt to commit legal errors, which will make their contentions less valid than now."

He added that the NAACP had "a good legal staff, and I wouldn't be surprised if these lawyers haven't been waiting for just this chance."

AWAY WITH IT: The Birmingham **Post Herald** (1/30) was disturbed by the "extreme" terms of Alabama's interposition resolution, with its declaration that the Supreme Court's decision was "null, void and of no effect." "Defiance of the court in such respects," said the paper, "is not our idea of how best to seek to protect state rights." Richard P. Greenleaf, of Boaz, Ala., wrote to the same paper:

> "If the Alabama Legislature, by resolution, can declare this ruling of the court null and void, then it can declare any ruling of the court null and void. And if one legislature or 13 legislatures have such power, then our federal government is without real power and we might as well do away with it."

The Washington **Post** (1/26) doubted that supporters of interposition favored revolution or secession "as a practical possibility"; so

> ". . . a mere exercise in legalism over interposition probably is of no great harm, but the sad thing is that it serves to distract attention from the gradual but inevitable compliance which the states know is their obligation as members of the Union."

Natural gas stink

(Continued from Page 1)

head, "Gas Lobby Amazes Senators," and said:

> "There's been nothing like it since pre-war days."

"A SHAMEFUL SPREE": Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), who has been in Congress 15 years, said:

> "Never since I have been in Washington have I seen such intensive, varied and ingenious types of lobbying. . . . I have been badly overlobbied." (He voted against the bill).

Columnist Drew Pearson, who has spent most of his life in the capital, wrote that "never before in my many years of covering Washington have I seen any lobby so well-heeled and so blatantly powerful as the gas-oil lobby today." A few days later he called it "one of the most shameful lobbying sprees this writer has seen in Washington."

Money seemed to be flowing out of a Texas gusher. Then one eager-beaver lobbyist overdid it. After satisfying himself that Sen. Francis Case (R-S. D.) was leaning in favor of the bill but hadn't firmly made up his mind, he left a "campaign contribution" with a friend of the Senator's in his home state; it consisted of 25 $100 bills. Sen. Case checked the identity of the donor, rejected the gift, and on Feb. 3 took the floor of the Senate and told the story.

NIXON - KNOWLAND TEAM: What followed wasn't exactly bedlam, but it was as close to it as Senate decorum will permit. Floor leaders of the bill were aghast; most Senators were furious at Case for breaking club rules and opening the door where the skeletons are kept. The one big question was: if oil had tried to buy Case, how many other Senators had been bought?

There was an immediate clamor for a full-scale probe and a demand that further consideration of the bill be postponed till all the answers were in. Sen. Johnson, abetted by Minority Leader William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) and Vice-President Richard Nixon, scotched both. A quick vote on the bill was forced and three days later, on Feb. 6, it was passed 53 to 38. Oil had crossed all party lines: 31 Republicans and 22 Democrats teamed up to vote for the measure.

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), chairman of the Senate Privileges and Elections Subcommittee and an opponent of the gas bill, moved at once for an exhaustive inquiry, but he was headed off by some of the most strenuous, frantic and high-handed backstage maneuvering in recent times. Nixon set up a carefully hand-picked committee of four to look into the Case charge.

THE NAME IS KECK: Headed by Walter F. George (D-Ga.) and including Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.), Styles Bridges (R-N. H.) and Edward Thye (R-Minn.), the committee took the unusual step of holding its organizing meeting in Nixon's office and Nixon took the even more unusual step of making an on-the-spot ruling that the committee had exhaustive jurisdiction in the matter and was not to go beyond the Case incident.

IT'S GETTING CROWDED DOWN HERE !

Sen. Case was its first witness and he was treated as though he were the wrong-doer; but it was brought out that the money offered him came from a "personal fund" of Howard B. Keck, president of the Superior Oil Co. of California, a big oil and gas producer with operations in 15 states.

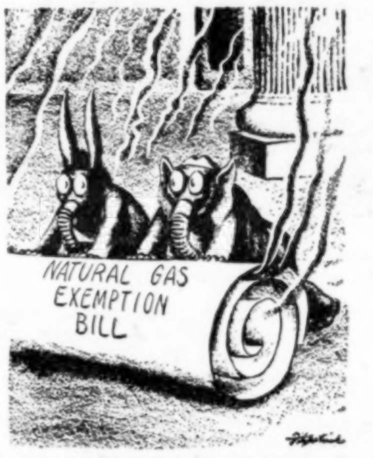
During the last week of the Senate debate, Superior Oil shares were listed on the N. Y. Stock Exchange at $1,220 (only one other corporation stock was listed at over $1,000 a share). John M. Neff and Elmer Patman, lawyers for the company who had handled the Case "campaign contribution," denied that it had anything to do with the gas bill. But when Neff was asked if the contribution would have been made if Case had opposed the bill he said:

> "Neither I nor Mr. Patman would have been willing."

JURY PROBE ON: Patman testified that he was entrusted by Keck with a fund of variable size for political campaign contributions and political testimonial dinners "both Republican and Democratic."

Last week the Sen. George special committee was in suspension but a super-secret grand jury investigation in Washington was under way with the Justice Dept.'s two top-ranking prosecutors in charge. Sen. Hennings had resigned from his committee under an unwritten rule that a Senator up for re-election cannot head it. But he was replaced by Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) who was pledged to conduct a comprehensive probe of the gas and oil lobby.

It was clear, however, that every block would be thrown in the way of such an investigation and Sen. George indicated that he would strive to maintain his "jurisdiction" to prevent any deeper delving.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Weird example of bipartisanship

JOE'S JUNKETS: While the Senate was understandably reluctant to investigate itself, it was recalled that Sen. Joe McCarthy (R-Wis.) had made extensive coast to coast junkets in 1953 in a Superior Oil Co. private plane; that oil money had financed the Maryland campaign (masterminded by McCarthy) that unseated Sen. Tydings and elected Sen. Butler; that McCarthy got a $2,000 contribution from an N. B. Keck in 1952; that in 1952 Texas oil millionaire H. R. Cullen made 31 contributions to Congressional candidates totalling $53,000, and that numerous members of his family gave similar sizeable handouts; that Nixon's notorious "personal expense fund" of $18,000 when he was a Senator came mostly from oil men.

None of this was new. The first act of the Eisenhower Administration was to push through the off-shore oil giveaway; the late Harold Ickes, former Secy. of the Interior, wrote in the **New Republic** for March 26, 1951:

> "The capitol today is swarming with greasy-fingered oil lobbvists who, as usual, have crackling greenbacks to spend **ad lib** in quarters where they will do the most good. . . . Ruthless greed has never paraded so wantonly in hideous nakedness. . . . Oil continues to befoul the pure stream of our democratic power."

A VERY BAD ODOR: But the Case incident, which brought the oil befoulment into the open dramatically, may force a close look if enough people speak up. Editor William T. Evjue of the Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times,** wrote on Feb. 13:

> "Once more we make the observation that the words Republican and Democratic no longer have any meaning when entrenched wealth can line up 22 Democratic Senators and 31 Republicans in support of a giant handout to the greedy privileged group represented by oil."

Ickes had made the same point earlier; in the last article he wrote before he died on Feb. 3, 1952, he said:

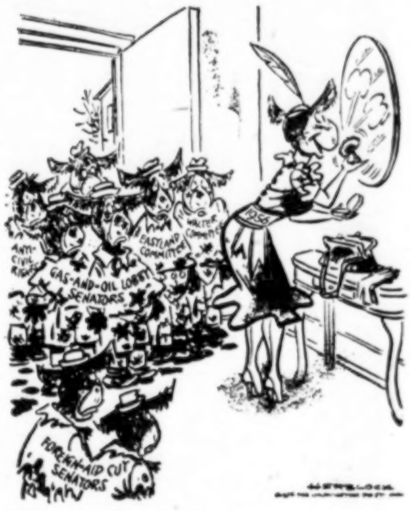
> "We have developed a Congress with the worst smell and most corroded consciences that can be disclosed in any page of the United States Congress anywhere. . . . Let the Republicans and Democrats alike cauterize their noisome sores lest each be overcome by the stench of its own corruption."

THE PRESIDENT'S VETO: The Eisenhower veto didn't change the picture. His act was generally construed as a piece of shrewd politics in an election year and it left Congressional Democratic leaders out in the cold with their grab-bags showing.

Actually, the President didn't veto the bill on its merits and stressed the fact that he is "in accord with its basic objectives." The high moral tone he adopted sounded good; but what disturbed him was not the lobbying as such but simply that one of the greasy-fingered oil boys had been caught in the act.

POLITICS

Nixon gets a royal spanking as Ike weighs his decision



Herblock in Washington Post
"All ready for the parade, children?"

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER last week began 10 fateful days of meditation on the Georgia plantation of Treasury Secy. Humphrey, wrestling with the decision of whether or not to run again for the Presidency. On Feb. 16, first day of his soul-searching, the President was reported riding through the woods in a green-wheeled, mule-drawn cart. He shot 12 quail. In the evening he played bridge with financier John Hay Whitney and Coca Cola President Wm. E. Robinson. The next day it was to be golf. And by the end of the month the world would know.

There were clues: six doctors, headed by Dr. Paul Dudley White, said he was physically fit for the job. James Reston of the N. Y. **Times** said Dr. White

> ". . . did not exactly push President Eisenhower into another campaign for the Presidency . . . but he certainly opened the door and invited him in."

Reporters noted that the President while driving to the Humphrey plantation "looked and acted like a candidate." He rode in a sedan with a special panel so he could stand erect and wave to crowds at every rural crossroads.

THAT HEART-BEAT: Eisenhower had good reason to wave cheerily in Georgia. A Gallup poll had just reported him running ahead of Stevenson in the once-solid South. All other GOP possibilities trailed far behind any Democrat.

The Eisenhower camp was not alone in celebrating the President's clean bill of health. The relief was nation-wide that the heart-beat that stands between Richard Nixon and the White House was strong and steady.

In the early days of the President's illness Nixon's followers seemed ready to storm the White House before Eisenhower was properly settled in a hospial bed. Firm handling was needed to keep Nixon's fingers off the title of "acting president." Those who disapprove of Nixon—and they cross all party and sectional lines—now have the job of preventing any further chance of his inheriting the Presidency. Nixon last week made the job easier for his enemies.

THE BLUNDER BOY: In a Lincoln's Day address at New York's Waldorf Astoria Nixon neatly touched the Democrats' sore spot—civil rights—calling their position "hybrid," "helpless," "futile." Then he blundered and violated the sacred political canon that the Supreme Court is above politics. He baldly claimed credit in the name of the GOP for the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling.

Reactions were swift and violent. Scripps-Howard's N.Y. **World-Telegram,** which had been kind to Nixon and harsh with Stevenson, said in an editorial (2/15):

> "What the Vice President said was inaccurate, unnecessary and unpardonable. . . . Those who would impute partisanship to the Supreme Court risk the anger of a people jealous of their basic institutions. Even the late FDR, at the top of his popularity, beheld that wrath. It can happen to such as Dick Nixon. . . .
>
> "Adlai Stevenson, in applaudable contrast to the Nixon speech, epitomized the only sane and honorable policy [his proposal to drop civil rights as an election issue.] . . ."

DIVIDE AND EMBITTER: The N. Y. **Times** headed its editorial on Nixon: "Bad Taste and Bad History." Columnist Walter Lippmann in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (2/16) wrote:

> "Instead of being a national leader, he [Nixon] is a ruthless partisan. He is a politician who divides and embitters the people."

James Reston reported (2/17) a move to tuck Nixon safely away on a shelf in the cabinet. Some even suggested that he be moved from the Vice-Presidency to the cabinet before convention time to guarantee that he would not appear on the ticket. That would make House Speaker Sam Rayburn, a Democrat, acting Vice-President for the remainder of the current administration.

Though such an extreme move was unlikely, the mere proposal underscored the alarm GOP strategists feel at the prospect of Nixon on the ticket at a time when greater attention will be focussed on the second place than ever before in history. Reston summed up their fears:

> "The President unifies the country; Nixon divides it. The President has strong support among independents; the Vice President does not."

THE POSSIBILITIES: Behind Nixon is the far-right wing and a President who has frequently expressed a personal fondness for him. Strategists may circumvent the President's sentiments by asking him to do what he did in '52: submit to party leaders not one choice but several choices of a running mate. In '52 Eisenhower's list of acceptable running-mates included Nixon, Sen. Knowland, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. and Harold Stassen. Thomas Dewey and Massachusetts Gov. Herter are also listed as possibilities for '56.

BOOKS

Two Catholic lives —two Christian men

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

ABOUT A YEAR after the GUARDIAN was born, before we had got used to becoming a port of call for just about everybody with a concern for peace and justice, a Roman Catholic priest walked into our den of iniquity on Murray St. This at first startling visitation led to a GUARDIAN review of Blanshard's **American Freedom & Catholic Power** by Father Clarence E. Duffy, a man with whom we have had a deepening bond of affection and respect ever since.

In June, 1953, I received on Ellis Island a letter from a Roman Catholic layman in Hollywood about a visit paid him by two Immigration agents. They sought evidence to help deport me, based on his acquaintance with me since 1931; he gave them the opposite of what they wanted, and wrote down in the **California Quarterly** the reminiscences they had inspired of our friendship and co-operation against Franco and Hitler in the Thirties. In 1954, at a Los Angeles hearing to which he came from his sickbed in the desert, he repeated his testimony in my behalf. His name was Frank Scully, **Variety** columnist, author of **Behind the Flying Saucers** and the **Fun in Bed** books, Hollywood Democratic Party leader, Papal Knight of the Order of St. Elizabeth.

FRANK SCULLY

BIASED REPORT: If Duffy and Scully want unprejudiced reviews of the autobiographies they have just published*, they should not come to me. I am not concerned about the fact that neither book is an imperishable masterpiece. They are personal books by men whom I regard as heroes of our time, by Christians who have sought the living implications of their creed. I suggest that progressives who take seriously the need to understand what makes an ordinary Roman Catholic tick should start by finding out what makes these extraordinary ones tick. If this is, above all, the time for men and women of good will to take lessons in tolerance so that we may work together for common ends, we will seek far for better teachers.

The paths traced by Scully and Duffy have been about as different as they could be, but they have found the way to rich and fruitful if economically insecure lives by subordinating their own heavy troubles to the precept of their faith, "Love one another." For them this does not exclude, but positively includes, fighting strenuously against anti-humanitarian "principalities and powers" as represented by spokesmen for false gods. Scully, who learned in his New York childhood not to be afraid of cops, writes of his skepticism about "superiors"; he likes especially to think of Jesus "heaving the money-changers out of the temple, not so much because they were sacrilegious as because they were bankers."

AN INSTITUTION: Cross My Heart is a chronicle of its author's triumph over pain (losing a leg after a football accident at the age of 17, he has spent half his life in sanatoria and hospitals); of his happy marriage and family life; but primarily of his breezy, free-wheeling experience as a newspaperman, which has brought him in contact with dozens of famous characters.

Beginning as a Columbia student with a mixed grill of celebrities-to-be including Morrie Ryskind, Howard Dietz, Max (Simon &) Schuster, Oscar Hammerstein II and George Sokolsky, he moved on—always seeking health, good copy and a couple of full-bellied laughs—via Arizona, Paris, Switzerland, Italy and Nice to Southern California where he has now been an institution for two decades. In the course of these peregrinations he got mixed up with Frank Harris and Jimmy Walker, Isadora Duncan and Chauncey Olcott, Emma Goldman and Anita Loos, Borrah Minevitch and Bernard Shaw and other headliners unlimited. Most of them had troubles which Scully helped them solve, telling them "my secret was to take everything but life seriously."

Summarizing his broader philosophy almost casually, Scully says he does not damn the Russians whose country he has never seen but prays for them, "figuring there are more than enough people cursing them as it is." In the "free world and slave world" he sees no black and white, for in any world "we either give ourselves orders or others give us orders. There is no escaping slavery. . . . He who is his own master is therefore his own slave." His ideal is

". . . neither left-wing, nor right-wing, but, like the angels, all wings. To be on the side of the angels never was easy but seemed particularly difficult in the modern world where material progress had practically become deified. I had to go back 2,000 years to find the sort of people whose views I shared. And most of them came to ignominious ends. They were hanged, thrown to the lions, or condemned to a dismal existence in catacombs. But secretly I loved them and prayed to be like the bravest of them."

FATHER DUFFY

MORE THAN PRAYERS: Nostalgic idealization of the past is a familiar habit of more sensitive Roman Catholics. Duffy—California-born, raised on an Irish farm and educated for the priesthood in Spain—was inspired by a vision of Ireland recapturing its "golden age" of co-operative agricultural communities from the 5th and 6th centuries. Pope Pius XI's social encyclicals gave him the basis for working, in the underfed parish of Upper Drumreilly, for such a solution as against what Duffy saw as the equal evils of communism and capitalism.

The people responded with enthusiasm; but in no time there were murmurs of communism from "prominent priests [who] stressed the sole sufficiency of prayer to change the social order." Duffy, who had already observed in London the undemocratic set-up of his church and the gap between its preaching and practice, found himself committed to an insane asylum. Silence fell again over his parish hall which for a while had been a beehive of socials, dances, co-operative egg-packing, theatricals, concerts and meetings.

TURNS TO SINNERS: In Ireland, and later in America—where he was in the unique position of being subject to discipline by an Irish bishop who was dead and not replaced by another—Duffy continued for years striving to arouse his church to the social implications of its own doctrine. From Cardinal Spellman on down, except for New York's austere Catholic Worker movement, the only response was an attempt to silence him. Finally he decided to turn to non-Catholic "publicans and sinners" with his religious ideas for social justice. Co-operating with the Left in campaigns for the American Labor Party, for peace, and for defense of independent labor unions and Smith Act victims, he was for the first time able to bring his message to thousands in the U. S. and Canada. Wherever he went, church officials put out that he was "not in good standing." Fighting this lie relentlessly, he retained the right to say Mass and wrote to his new bishop in Ireland:

"I find that everyone who seeks and is actively working for peace, social and economic justice, civil rights and the legitimate exercise of human freedom is called a 'Communist.' "

TWO OF A KIND: Duffy far more than Scully is unwilling to settle for the present church set-up which he sees as "more Roman than Catholic." He has told the Pope and everybody that reforms are needed in such areas as priestly celibacy, hierarchical discipline and saying Mass in Latin, and that the flight into formalism from the original Christian spirit must be reversed. He wants a universal Christian church whose head should be democratically elected by all denominations, and calls on his church to take the lead "in a spirit of deep humility and charity, prepared to compromise." And as for communism and capitalism, both need "Christianizing."

Father Duffy and Francis Xavier Scully are two Americans who have the right kind of enemies and who are to be known by their fruits. No progressive should miss this opportunity to get to know them; none has anything to teach them about depth of conviction and courage in proclaiming and living it.

**THE INSURGENT SPRING*, by Clarence E. Duffy. Gallant Herald Press, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7. 288 pp., $1.50. (SPECIAL TO GUARDIAN READERS, $1.)*

CROSS MY HEART, by Frank Scully. Greenberg, 201 E. 57th St., N. Y. C. 22. 371 pp. $5.

NEW YORK

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Cause for rebels

(Continued from Page 1)

delinquent behavior on "pathological relationships between the child and his mother."

A corps of tough, hard-working young men and women in the N. Y. Youth Board and N. Y. Welfare Council have been operating on a different basis for the last 10 years. They have gone to the street corners, mixed with the boys, helped them when they could and found out something of what makes an American boy in the Cold War era turn to a gang.

HOW THE BOYS SEE IT: The social workers of the Welfare Council in 1950 reported on their work in East Harlem gangs. This is the way the boys regarded their community:

> "They hated living in Harlem. They hated the filth, the lack of decent places to play, the overcrowding. They felt that the community had no place for them. They were pushed around by the janitor. They were chased out of the candy store by the store-keeper. They were hounded off the street by cruising patrol cars. As far as they were concerned adults had no use for them and this feeling was mutual. Many boys felt that their fellow club members were the only persons in the world for whom they cared or on whom they could count."

To a boy on an East Harlem street corner the adult world seemed made up of authorities, hoodlums and suckers. Parents and teachers were usually regarded as authorities along with the police and suffered from guilt by association. The report said:

> "According to the boys, the cops chased them from the streets in which they played, picked them up without reason, and subjected them to humiliating verbal abuse and brutal beatings. (On several occasions the [Welfare Council] workers observed actual instances of mistreatment on the part of police.)"

GANGSTERS & COPS: Hoodlums were worldly successes, like the numbers man, dope peddler, pimp and racketeer. They had the Cadillacs. Many of the boys lumped the police in this category and grudgingly accorded them respect for it. One boy told a Council worker:

> "The only difference between a gangster and most policemen is that the policemen are allowed to carry a gun and get away with what they are doing much easier. They rob, take money from people, they sell dope, they do everything, but they can get away with it."

The suckers were the weaklings who "worked for a living, never stepped out of line, and always kept their noses clean." They never made good, never sported Cadillacs. No one wanted to join their ranks.

Facing an adult world that was plainly hostile, a future at best precarious, the boys turned to each other. The girls turned to the boys and were accepted, generally as camp followers.

"SECURITY & PROTECTION": Boys formed clubs with glamorous names: Royals, Knights, Gay Blades. There was nothing loose about the organization. Each club had its divisions—from the Tiny Tims for the 9-13 year olds, through the Kids, Cubs, Midgets, Juniors and Seniors, over 20. Each division had its chain of command: president, vice-president, war councillor (a foreign minister who contacted rival gangs, set the battlefields for "rumbles" and made agreements on the weapons allowed in these wars, which were more chivalrous than the adult kind), and lastly the "light-up" man who maintained the gang's arsenal.

The Welfare Council summed up:

> "For most club members the gang was the most important influence in their lives; not only did it help meet many of their basic needs and give them some measure of security and protection, but it also provided a means through which they could strike back at the frustrating adult world."

WHY THE VIOLENCE? The Council found the gangs at bottom to be no different from the high-sounding romantic associations adolescents have always created. Why then did they turn to deadly rumbles, vandalism, muggings? Council field workers came up with three answers:

> "The glorification of violence and 'commando' tactics during the war years; the tensions resulting from an intensified emphasis placed on racial differences; the deep-seated frustrations as the result of political, social, and economic discrimination on a racial, religious, or nationality basis in our country and city."

The country is filled with organizations tackling the "problem" of delinquency on all levels. The Kefauver Subcommittee heard reports from scores of them. They all appealed to youth but in curiously ineffective terms. The Camp Fire Girls for example, put forward these objectives:

> "Worship God, seek beauty, give service, pursue knowledge, be trustworthy, hold onto health, glorify work, be happy."

THEY ACCEPT HELP: Some 90% of the children in East Harlem steered clear of such outfits and clung to their own where they sought not "beauty" but protection and a sense of their own worth. Once the street club workers of the Council—and later of the Youth Board—won the boys' confidence, they could argue the boys out of wars, reduce muggings, channel rivalries into sports. They tried not to break up the gangs but to build on them. With a pitifully small budget and no help from the "horse-whip and head-shave" type of judge, the Youth Board could only scratch the surface, experiment, point the way for partial solutions.

In most cases it was up to communities across the country. Last week women from four churches and a synagogue in mid-east Manhattan joined in a neighborhood program to make gangs into clubs. To accomplish their mission the adults had two problems: (1) to convince the children they weren't being played for suckers, and (2) to give them something to believe in at least as meaningful as the passionate, personal comradeship of the gang.

The job was to give the rebels a cause.

Let's hear from you

The GUARDIAN intends to give top priority to continuing coverage of the problems of youth. It welcomes readers' reports on problems in all parts of the nation, urban and rural, and solutions that have been tried. Newspaper clippings and magazine articles are also welcome. We would like to hear also from our younger readers on the problem of "adult delinquency."

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CALENDAR

Chicago

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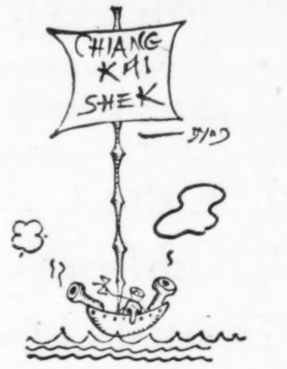

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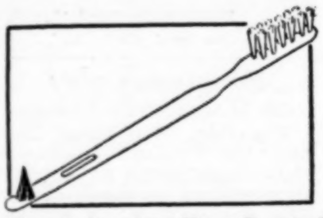

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the SPECTATOR

'Porgy' revisited

IN THE CURRENT PLAYBACK of the old row over "Catfish Row," occasioned by the **Porgy and Bess** tour of the U. S. S. R. and Eastern Europe, the focus is still almost exclusively on the racist slants in the opera's libretto. Progressives are pointing out again that the story is loaded with Dixiecrat caricatures of Negro life.

Now certainly it can stand repeating that the **Porgy** story is indeed the comic-strip memoirs of a slumming expedition by a patronizing Southerner into a Southern Negro community. Let it be recorded again that Negro commentators have found it "strange and revolting," representative of "no sizeable fragment of Negro life, south or north," in its depiction of Negroes "making fools of other members of their race . . . [in] the traditional role" (GUARDIAN, Jan. 23).

But let it also be acknowledged that there would be no controversy of this sort, no **Porgy and Bess** European tour, no nothin', if it were not for the musical score.

WHAT GERSHWIN FELT: DuBose Heyward's 1925 novel would have remained in limbo if it had not aroused the interest of George Gershwin to its operatic possibilities. The ingenuous but prodigiously gifted Gershwin—as any of the original **Porgy** cast (1935) can testify—had affection and respect for the Negro people and their art, with not a whit of social understanding. But Gershwin's sociological grasp (or lack of it) is not the issue here.

What **is** the issue is the need to take note of the musical merits of **Porgy and Bess** while taking inventory of the libretto's demerits. Not because that work, as a musical work, is in need of praise, but to illuminate the reasons for its spectacular success, especially in its recent European performances.

For there is much heat and little light in dealing only with the story. Going on the assumption, as these indictments do, that the whole worth of **Porgy and Bess** should be based on its libretto, the reader can only: (1) get sore at **all** the perpetrators of the fraud; (2) get perplexed at its overwhelming effect on audiences; (3) get sad at their mass seduction. But he can't get hep.

AIN'T NECESSARILY SO: Of course there is an obvious way out of this dilemma: the reader, guiltily humming strains from the score, leaps there himself.

To those who regard Gershwin's **Porgy** music as the fruit of an immense and original talent, it seems equally obvious that he could have written similarly superb scores for similarly contaminated stories.

As if that hadn't been done before! Any number of esteemed operatic scores by Puccini, Wagner, Verdi, Bizet, Mozart and Richard Strauss (among others) were written for librettos that would make a self-respecting liberal squirm if he ever measured them with an ideological yardstick.

Yet one never measures these operas in that way. Indeed, one hardly ever thinks seriously of their librettos. The value of those classics is purely musical; their stories, however absurd or pernicious, are merely vehicles that do not and cannot stigmatize the music.

LISTEN TO THE MUSIC: So is it being suggested here that **Porgy and Bess** should therefore not be criticized for the evils in its libretto? Of course not—particularly when the issues only too vividly exposed in the flamboyant style of the production are as pertinent as they are now.

It **is** being suggested that the love and excitement that the opera generates in its audiences simply cannot be understood through those diatribes. There is one simple way to understand and accept the success of **Porgy and Bess:** listen to the music!

And then recognize that what was so ardently applauded in Leningrad and Moscow and Prague and Warsaw was primarily Gershwin's score. What brought audiences to their feet for ten-minute ovations was the exciting, indigenously American music—plus, of course, the exciting performances by actor-singers who were, moreover, Negro Americans.

Knowing this, doesn't it help explain and make acceptable to us, even proudly, as fellow-Americans of the composer and the performing artists, the embraces of audiences abroad?

—**Gilbert Nelson**

The American Salon art show

The GUARDIAN story Feb. 20 announcing the American Salon art show and sale at the Barbizon-Plaza Art Gallery Feb. 22-27 stated that part of the proceeds would help pay for Morton Sobell's new appeal against a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz. The GUARDIAN story should not be construed to imply sponsorship by any organization other than the American Salon. In full clarification we are glad to print the following statement from Mrs. Sara Gottlieb, director of the American Salon:

"Insofar as this sale is concerned, there is no other sponsorship but my own. Organizations are participating only to the extent that any organization sending buyers will receive a commission on sales. This enterprise brings a new idea to the sale of art. The first objective is to assemble and make available in one exhibit many more artists' work than is available in any one gallery and in an atmosphere where the sales are the primary goal. The second objective is to bring to the art field new buyers who are readily available in large numbers through organizations. It is my thought that just as theater parties have helped to enlarge the theater-going public, this approach will help expand the art-buying public. To accomplish this I have invited groups and organizations to send me buyers on a commission basis."

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